

**WHAT IS IT**

*Vol 3 # 6558*

**WHO IS IT**



**WHAT WILL  
IT DO**

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# Introduction

Using the advertising technique which has frightened millions of people with "pink toothbrush", "dishpan hands", "B.O." and "a breath that even your best friend won't tell you about", the great financial and business interests of Canada have launched a nation-wide scare campaign against the C.C.F.

They are using every possible avenue of publicity to misrepresent the C.C.F. and its policies.

To counteract some of this poisonous propaganda by giving you the truth about the C.C.F., this little booklet is being put in your hands. It asks and answers questions about the C.C.F. and its policies.

Statements made by opponents of the C.C.F. which are contrary to what is in this booklet may be branded as the false propaganda of the enemies of this people's political movement.

We cannot impress upon you too strongly the fact that only C.C.F. spokesmen are competent to say what the C.C.F. program is. You wouldn't expect Hitler to tell the truth about the United Nations. How then can you expect its enemies to tell the truth about the C.C.F.?

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# **A C.C.F. Quiz**

## **What is the C.C.F.?**

The letters C.C.F. stand for "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation"—that is, a federation of Canadians who believe in the principles of a **Co-operative Commonwealth**. It is a great nation-wide people's political movement which already has (May 1944) 81 members in parliament and legislatures and is the official opposition in four provinces. The C.C.F. offers the first opportunity in Canadian history for the election of people's governments throughout Canada.

## **Who is the C.C.F.?**

In every province in Canada the C.C.F. is composed of people of every walk of life who believe that Canadians through political action should establish democratic citizenship-control over the means by which the people of the nation live.

An example of the composition of the C.C.F. in Alberta is given by its 1943 provincial convention. There were 314 delegates in attendance,

262 of whom were farmers or farmers' wives. The urban delegates came from nearly every walk of life, including industrial workers, business people, teachers, etc.

The Provincial Board of the Alberta C.C.F. is another good cross section of the movement. It is composed of eleven farmers two industrial workers, three business men, two teachers, one housewife, one lawyer one market gardener.

## **How is the C.C.F. Governed ?**

By the membership.

Members of locals elect their own officers and their delegates to constituency and provincial conventions.

Each constituency convention elects the constituency officers and executive.

Provincial conventions elect the provincial officers and Board and the Provincial Leader.

National conventions are made up of delegates from federal constituencies. The national convention elects the national officers and the National Leader.

Constituency and provincial conventions are held every year and the national convention every two years. By these regular meetings the C.C.F. membership maintains complete and constant

control over the policies, officers and leaders of the movement.

**YOU** are invited to join the C.C.F. and to assist in the control and direction of it.

## **Who makes the C.C.F. Program?**

The membership.

Every word in the C.C.F. program has been put there by national and provincial conventions.

No political leader or officer of the C.C.F. has any right to add anything to or take anything from the C.C.F. program. Only the membership at their provincial and national conventions may do that.

The C.C.F. program is that which is made and published by the C.C.F. Anyone who tells you that the C.C.F. program is anything except that which is published officially by the C.C.F., is lying, to deceive you.

## **What is the basic principle of the C.C.F. Program ?**

Social ownership by the people of the means whereby they live.

It includes: (1) National public ownership by the people of great key industries and services

which affect the lives of all the people, such as railways, communication systems, banks and other financial institutions, and monopolistic industries such as manufacture of textiles and farm machinery; (2) Provincial public ownership, such as power projects and the development of natural resources; (3) Municipal ownership of public utilities and services; (4) Co-operative ownership of creameries, packing and other processing plants.

## **Would the C.C.F. Nationalize or Socialize Farms ?**

No.

Social ownership is ownership by the people of the means by which they live. Six hundred thousand farmers can own the means by which they live, the farms of Canada, by each owning a farm home of his own.

But if the farmers are to own packing plants and other industries which are such a vital part of the means by which they live, they can only do so through co-operative or public ownership. They can each own a farm, but they can't each own a packing plant.

# What is the farm program of the C.C.F.?

At its very first convention the C.C.F. set out clearly and distinctly the fact that its agricultural policy was based on providing security of tenure for the farmer on his individually-owned family farm. There has never been any alteration or variation of this policy.

The agricultural program of a C.C.F. government in Canada would provide for:

1. Debt adjustment and new credit facilities provided by the national bank.

2. A parity policy for prices that would give the agricultural population its full share of the national income.

3. The marketing of agricultural produce through government boards with producer and consumer representation.

4. Encouragement of co-operatives.

5. Public or co-operative ownership of all monopolistic processing and distributing industries.

6. The application of science to agriculture through soil surveys and experimental stations.

7. The fullest development of industrial uses for farm products.

8. Encouragement and assistance in the development of co-operative farm communities, self-governing and progressive, with electricity and

new appliances in the homes, with schools, hospitals, libraries and recreation centres.

The farm policy of the C.C.F. was made by farmers for farmers to provide a good life for farm people in their own farm homes.

## **Why does the C.C.F. advocate public ownership of key industries and financial institutions?**

1. Because the operation of these affect the lives of all the people. They are the means by which the people live and the people should own and control them.

2. Social ownership of the key industries of the nation will provide public profit for all the people instead of private profit for a few very rich people. In 1941, 484 of the largest Canadian corporations had net profits, after the payment of taxes, depreciation, etc., of \$373,000,000. In the same year there were 515,600 Canadian families who received a total combined income of \$340,000,000, an average of \$700. A C.C.F. government by public ownership and control of the key industries of the nation would provide a just and equitable distribution to the people of the wealth produced by the people.

3. The banks and other financial institutions largely control the economic life of the country. They should be owned and operated as a public service by the nation as the Post Office is now.

# **Can Canada produce sufficient wealth to provide a high standard of living for every Canadian family?**

Yes.

In 1943 the net wealth production in Canada was more than \$9,000,000,000. This is equal to an income of more than \$3500.00 for every Canadian family.

## **How would a C.C.F. government distribute to the people the wealth the people produce ?**

By giving every Canadian family an income, by decent prices for farm produce and good wages, high enough to allow them to buy the things necessary for a high standard of living.

This will be done by democratic people's control over the financial and economic system of the country.

A C.C.F. government would maintain a high level of production to provide a good living to all the people. If this country can produce billions of dollars worth of goods for war it can do as well for its people in peace.

## **How would a C.C.F. government acquire ownership of the financial institutions ?**

The chartered banks operate under an Act passed by parliament which is revised every ten years. A C.C.F. government would not pass the Act again, but would establish a National Bank which would set up branches throughout the Dominion to conduct the banking business of the country. Banking policy would be directed to serve the interests of the people and the nation instead of those of rich private shareholders.

## **What would happen to the deposits now in the Chartered Banks ?**

They would become deposits in the various branches of the National Bank.

Depositors' money would be safer than it is now because it would have behind it the whole wealth of the nation. The National Bank could not fail and leave its depositors penniless as many private banks have done.

## **Would life insurance policies be safe under a C.C.F. government?**

Yes.

Only the wealth of the nation behind them can make them safe. If in 1932 the Bennett government had not, by order-in-council, allowed certain powerful financial and life insurance corporations to conceal the results of their financial transactions, a panic would have ensued which would have wiped out thousands of life insurance policies and savings accounts.

Life insurance will cost much less and be very much safer under a national insurance plan because it will be backed by all the resources of the nation.

## **How will a C.C.F. government acquire for the people the ownership of the key industries?**

By purchase, at a fair valuation of the physical assets, of those now in private hands, and by the establishment of new plants in the way that many new war plants have been established.

# **Where would the money come from to acquire public ownership of the key industries?**

From where it is coming now.

Since the war began the government of Canada has advanced hundreds of millions of dollars to private companies to increase their plants and by the end of 1942 had invested \$800,000,000 in government-owned war plants.

In 1928 the Dominion Bureau of Statistics made a survey of all the wealth of Canada, including great industrial plants and such things as the homes, clothing and other personal effects of the people. It was found that all the physical wealth of the nation accumulated in three centuries had a value of twenty-five billion dollars.

Since the war began the government has raised and spent twelve and one-half billions of dollars, or half the total value of all the wealth in existence in Canada in 1928.

The question "where is the money to come from?" should never be allowed again to stop this nation doing anything it wants to do for the benefit of its people.

# How will the socially-owned industries be run?

By the same technical staffs who run them now. All that will be changed will be the ownership and purpose. They will be run for the people and for public profit, instead of for private shareholders and private profit.

The City of Edmonton owns its own public utilities. They are efficiently operated by technical staffs, employed by the City Council. Although the rates charged for street railway fares, electric light, power and telephones are lower than those prevailing in cities where utilities are privately-owned, there has been a public profit of over \$1,000,000 a year for several years. This goes to reduce taxes on the people's homes. If the utilities were privately-owned the people of Edmonton would be paying more for the services and a few rich people in Toronto or Montreal would have received the nearly \$17,000,000 profits that Edmonton people made for themselves.

The Northern Alberta Dairy Pool is operated by a management appointed by the Directors who are elected by the members. The Pool recently distributed a large patronage dividend to its members. Other dairy concerns pay dividends too—to their private shareholders, not to the men and women who milk cows.

The two examples given above illustrate the way socially-owned industries and services are

operated and who receives the benefits. A C.C.F. government will extend this principle in every field where it will bring benefit to the people.

## **Will social ownership take away the people's freedom or destroy initiative?**

No.

Neither the people of Edmonton nor the employees of their publicly-owned utilities have lost any freedom. The employees have as good a chance to use initiative as if they worked for some big corporation and they receive promotion by ability and seniority. The members of the Dairy Pool certainly haven't lost any freedom and their employees are at least as well-treated and happy as if they worked for a private corporation.

Freedom is extended in both these forms of Social Ownership, public and co-operative, by giving the citizen and co-operator a greater control over his own affairs.

The only freedom curtailed by social ownership of the means by which people live is the freedom of a few to exploit the many.

## **Would there be complete religious and political freedom under a C.C.F. government?**

Yes.

The C.C.F. manifesto is very definite on this point. It reads: "Freedom of speech and assembly for all; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, religious or political beliefs".

The very core of the C.C.F. program is full political, economic and religious freedom. It was to establish and maintain such freedom that the C.C.F. was formed.

## **Would a C.C.F. government interfere in any way with private ownership of personal property such as homes, cars, etc.?**

Of course not. The whole aim and purpose of the C.C.F. is to make it possible for more Canadians to own **their** own homes and to enjoy more of the **modern** comforts and conveniences of life.

## **Under social ownership who would decide what would be produced and how much of each article?**

Consumer choice will be the indicator of popular demand as now. A C.C.F. government will maintain a national income at least equal to that of the war period and more evenly distributed. This will give purchasing power to every family and by the exercise of this power the people will largely control the kinds and quantities of commodities.

New industries would be started if those already in existence were not meeting the consumer demand, or when some new commodity was invented and developed for the use, benefit or pleasure of consumers.

## **Is it true that inventions and discoveries of science will be curtailed under people's democratic control of the nation's economy?**

No, it is not true.

On the contrary the best minds of the nation will be well paid to spend their time in research work and when they invent or discover some-

thing of social value it will not be suppressed to protect private investments and profits as so often happens now.

Soviet Russia owes a large part of its great strength to this policy which has been described as "Russia's Secret Weapon". By it some of the greatest scientists of modern times have been developed.

## **Would a C.C.F. government provide continuous employment?**

Yes.

A C.C.F. government would provide useful employment for everyone willing and able to work. Socially useful public works would be planned and carried out to keep employed all those not engaged in industry and other services. There would be no "relief" work under a C.C.F. government.

Because public works such as good roads, parks and recreation centres, libraries, hospitals, etc., all contribute to the richness of living, a considerable share of the national wealth would be devoted to them.

## **How will a C.C.F. government take care of the armed forces when they are discharged?**

No one will be discharged until he or she is re-established in a satisfactory civilian job. If our nation can keep our men on the public payroll now it can do so after the war. As rapidly as possible the members of the armed forces will be absorbed in democratically controlled industry, in construction of homes for the people and in greatly needed public works.

## **What will a C.C.F. government do with the big war plants owned by the government?**

As far as possible they will be converted to peacetime use. For example, plants now producing tanks will lend themselves to the manufacture of tractors and other farm machinery enabling farmers to get cheaper implements. Chemical factories should be able to produce fertilizers.

War plants will not be scrapped or sold at "fire sale" prices by a C.C.F. government to protect private investments and profits.

## **Will a C.C.F. government need to continue to borrow money as the government is now doing for war purposes?**

No.

Not as much money will be required for government spending as now. This will make it possible to reduce taxes on the lower incomes. Taxes on the higher incomes will not be lowered. Surpluses will be available from publicly-owned industry. All surpluses of privately-owned industries, after proper depreciation and replacement charges and a maximum four per cent profit on actual investment, will be taken for public use.

All these measures and an orderly use of the national credit through the national bank will make further borrowing unnecessary.

## **How will the nation redeem Victory Bonds and retire the public debt?**

Small holdings, say up to \$10,000, will be redeemed with cash as they mature. Large holdings will be refunded in a way that will provide for gradual orderly payment over a period of years.

A large part of the public debt is held by banks and trust and insurance companies as security for their depositors' funds. The nation in such cases would merely assume the responsibility directly which it now carries indirectly.

Only by the election of a C.C.F. government will the national debt be paid. It is part of the program of Big Business and Finance to fasten a big public debt on the nation and to use it as a means through which they may continue to rob the people of a substantial part of what they produce.

## **How will the people maintain control over the economy of the nation and how will the economic dictatorship of present monopoly be eliminated?**

By producer and consumer representation on all boards directing industrial and agricultural activities. For example, Boards dealing with the marketing and processing of farm products will have members chosen by the farm organizations and the Labor-Management plan which has worked so well in some industries will be widely extended.

Only by public ownership and democratic control can the people participate in the direction

and management of industry. (There are people who can see nothing wrong with a big oil company, over which they have no control at all, having a monopoly over the oil business of Canada, but they become anxious about the "bureaucracy" of a publicly-owned industry over which they will have the opportunity to exercise democratic control. This is an amusing, but also somewhat tragic, illustration of the effectiveness of big business propaganda.)

**Will there be "regimentation" under a C.C.F. government and a continuation of irksome restrictions such as we have in war?**

No.

Restrictions now being imposed all result from shortages of civilian goods and manpower due to the demands of war. There will be no such shortages after the war and no such restrictions.

Under a C.C.F. government men and women will be free to choose their jobs, and they will have the positive freedom of having jobs to choose.

There has never been any "regimentation" as soul-destroying as the regimentation of the breadlines and no "bureaucracy" as devastating as that of the relief bureau. There will be no more of that under a C.C.F. government.

## **How will a C.C.F. government handle foreign trade?**

By import and export Boards through which Canada will make friendly and mutually beneficial exchange arrangements with other nations. Canada under a C.C.F. government will not engage in any wild scramble for "markets". We have things the people of other nations want and other nations produce things we need. A C.C.F. government will control exports and imports, not to establish the old "favorable balance of trade" but to get by friendly bargaining the things we need from other countries.

## **What will a C.C.F. government do with surpluses which we cannot use ourselves or sell abroad?**

Only under the stupidities of the old capitalist economy should a nation worry because it has too much of anything.

By constant production Canada under a CCF government will produce enough wealth to provide for all the needs of the Canadian people and to exchange for things not produced in Canada. If there is some over that we cannot use, we'll store it for future use or make a good world-neighbor of ourselves by giving it to some less fortunate nation like India or China.

## **What kind of social security measures will a C.C.F. government adopt?**

Every hazard of life such as sickness, old age, loss of a breadwinner, industrial and other accidents, and unavoidable crop failure will come under a social security measure which will guarantee an adequate minimum standard of life to every Canadian family out of the general pool of wealth produced in the country.

## **What will be the social objectives of a C.C.F. government?**

To enable all the people of Canada to enjoy the highest standard of living which it is possible to provide with our rich natural resources and our almost unlimited productive abilities; to re-

store to the people the control over their own economic existence which has been given to great monopoly industrial and financial interests; to extend the democratic rights of Canadians to the place where there will be full people's control over the nation's affairs; to provide educational opportunities for young and old to enable all to measure up intellectually to the responsibilities of democratic citizenship; to provide the opportunity for all Canadians to live in homes and communities in which they can enjoy security, comfort and leisure in an environment of beauty, pleasure and culture.

## **How will these objectives be attained under a C.C.F. government?**

By: (1) full employment; (2) continuous production unbroken by recurring crises; (3) democratic participation by the people in the control of the nation's economy; (4) an expanding national income; (5) an equitable distribution to all the people of the goods and services produced by all the people; (6) a comprehensive system of complete social security.

## **What part will a provincial government play in implementing the C.C.F. Program?**

Under the Canadian Constitution the functions of government and control over economic affairs are divided between the federal parliament and the provincial legislatures. It is extremely important, therefore, that provincial as well as federal C.C.F. governments should be elected.

The most effective way in which the predatory interests which control the economic life of Canada could stop the C.C.F., would be to persuade voters that provincial politics don't matter. A provincial government opposed to people's control over the nation's affairs can hinder the efforts of a people's federal government almost as effectively as a reactionary federal government can block a progressive provincial government.

## **Why are Canadian big business and finance, through the daily newspapers, magazines and other publications they control carrying on such a bitter fight against the C.C.F.?**

For the same reason that the Krupps and the Thyssens and other big industrialists of Germany

financed Hitler and his Nazis to destroy Social Democracy, to crush the trade unions and co-operatives, and to establish fascism in that country.

Millions of dollars are being spent by Big Business and Finance in Canada to destroy the C.C.F. because it seeks to extend the democratic principle to the control of the nation's economic affairs.

On the one side in this fight stands Big Business and Finance with their newspaper organs and their political servants. On the other side is the people's democratic political movement known as the C.C.F.

Which side are you on?

## **What can I do to assist in the attainment of the C.C.F. objectives?**

1. You can begin by filling out the blank on page 29 of this booklet and sending it with the one dollar membership fee to the C.C.F. provincial office. A genuine people's government in Canada can only be achieved through a mass people's political movement.

2. If you are interested in the outline of C.C.F. policy in this booklet, write to The People's

Weekly, Edmonton, for the great book "Make This Your Canada". Its authors are Dr. Frank Scott and David Lewis, National President and Secretary of the C.C.F. It describes the C.C.F. and its program in detail and tells what a C.C.F. government will do when it takes office. The price of "Make This Your Canada" is \$1.10 postpaid.

3. Carry this booklet in your pocket and when you hear or read any statement about the C.C.F. program which is contrary to what you have read here, you can nail the lie then and there.

4. Above all, use your franchise. To neglect to vote is to fail in your democratic duty. Good citizenship involves interest and action in public affairs. Don't neglect democratic rights which others gave their lives to obtain.

5. Write to the C.C.F. Office, 10010 102 Street, Edmonton, and tell us you are interested, send suggestions, ask other questions or for explanations or even offer criticism if it is constructive.

# THE C.C.F. PLATFORM

(1) To plan the production of all the people in such a way that there will be enough to go around. Planning will be done by representatives of the people themselves—farmers, factory workers, miners, engineers, technicians, etc.

(2) To make money serve the people by publicly owning and managing the banks so that money may be the servant and not the master of the economic life of the community.

(3) That natural resources like oil, gold, nickel, coal, etc., and industries such as textiles, boot and shoe industry, packing plants, farm machinery industry, etc., and transportation, become the property of the public and be operated by the public for the public.

(4) The abolition of tariffs and regulation of external trade by import and export boards.

(5) To make effective a policy for the farming industry which would guarantee to farmers their farms, adjust debts, provide cheaper farm machinery, help co-operatives, create primary products marketing boards, and secure parity prices.

(6) To carry out a Labor policy which would give men the right to work, to have leisure, to education and to economic security.

(7) Taxing the incomes of the privileged until their privileges have been yielded to the people when the people will be in a position to allocate whatever portion of the national income they desire for social services.

(8) To foster and encourage, and by legislation to establish co-operative enterprises wherever such enterprises can best serve the common weal.

(9) To guarantee not only civil liberties—freedom of speech, of association, of the press and of religion—but freedom from the fear of ignorance, of disease and of want.

(10) To remove all tendency toward national disunity by amending our constitution in such a way as to remove existing injustices and inequities as between the several provinces.

(11) To fight this war to a victorious finish, to claim the fullest measure of the fruits of democratic victory both at home and abroad; to formulate an international policy based on economic justice and to collective enforcement of international law.

CUT OUT ON THIS LINE

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